

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA 4010

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3353

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PGOV, UR

SUBJECT: 25TH CONGRESS: SIXTH AND SEVENTH DAYS

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1. SUMMARY - AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, THE MORNING SESSION MARCH 1 SAW THE CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSION OF THE CC REPORT AND FEATURED A BRIEF CLOSING SPEECH BY BREZHNEV. THE AFTERNOON SESSION WAS TAKEN UP WITH KOSYGIN'S TWO AND ONE HALF HOUR ECONOMIC REPORT (REPORTED SEPTEL), FOLLOWED BY SEVERAL FOREIGN SPEAKERS. THE TWO SESSIONS MARCH 2 INVOLVED DISCUSSION OF KOSYGIN'S REPORT AND FURTHER FOREIGN SPEECHES. THE MARCH 2 SOVIET SPEECHES ARE HIGHLIGHTED BELOW; HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FOREIGN SPEECHES ARE REPORTED SEPARATELY. CONFUSION CONTINUES OVER THE DURATION OF THE CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

2. PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF KOSYGIN'S SPEECH WAS THE SECONDARY CONVERGENCE IT RECEIVED FROM THE SOVIET MEDIA: NO LIVE TV COVERAGE, NO COMPLETE TV RECAP, AND SECOND PLACE IN THE NEXT DAY'S PRESS TO BREZHNEV'S MARCH 1 DOINGS. KOSYGIN'S SPEECH SEEMED GENERALLY COMPLEMENTARY TO BREZHNEV'S IN TERMS OF POLICY AND MAIN POINTS, ALTHOUGH KOSYGIN'S TONE WAS UNSURPRISINGLY MORE ONE OF AN ECONOMIC SUBORDINATE THAN AN INDEPENDENT-MINDED POLITICAL LEADER. IT IS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST THAT KOSYGIN, IN COMPARISON WITH BREZHNEV, EMPHASIZED ECONOMIC INCENTIVES AND TOUCHED RELATIVELY BRIEFLY ON MORAL INCENTIVES AND SOCIALIST COMPETITION.

3. THE DISCUSSION OF KOSYGIN'S SPEECH WAS MORE A CONTINUATION OF THE EARLIER SPEECHES PRAISING BREZHNEV AND HIS POLICIES THAN A QUALITATIVELY NEW PHASE OF THE PROCEEDINGS. INDEED SOME OF THE SPEAKERS MENTIONED KOSYGIN BY NAME ONLY ONCE. IN NO CASE DID HE RECEIVE PERSONAL PRAISE, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME RESPECTFUL REFERENCES TO HIS REPORTS.

4. A.P. LYASHKO, CHAIRMAN OF THE UKRAINIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS: LYASHKO BEGAN BY REBUKING THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ENTERPRISES SUBORDINATE TO THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE FOR FAILING TO PROVIDE GOOD QUALITY SUGAR BEET SEEDS OR EFFECTIVE ADVICE ON MORE INTENSIVE METHODS OF SUGAR BEET CULTIVATION. "THIS EXAMPLE REFLECTS SUBSTANTIAL SHORTCOMINGS IN THE WORK OF THE USSR MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE." HE CONTINUED: "I SHARE THE CRITICAL COMMENTS MADE BY CONGRESS DELEGATES ADDRESSED AT THE MINISTRY. ITS WORK NEEDS SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT." LYASHKO THEN STATED IN MORE GENERAL FORM THE CRITICISM THAT THE MINISTRY SHOULD

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TAKE MEASURES AND PROVIDE ADVICE FOR RAISING PRODUCTIVITY OF CULTURES, LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY, MECHANIZATION OF OPERATIONS, AND EFFECTIVENESS OF MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES, AND RAISE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUBORDINATE INSTITUTES " TO THE LEVEL OF INCREASED REQUIREMENTS."

5. COMMENT - LYASHKO'S CRITICISM OF THE AGRICULTURE MINISTRY WOULD APPEAR TO BE LINKED TO EARLIER CRITICISM LEVELED AT THE

MINISTRY AND POLYANSKIY PERSONALLY BY V.M. TSYBUL'KO AT THE UKRAINIAN PARTY CONGRESS. TSYBUL'KO, IT WILL BE RECALLED, LOST HIS POSITION ON THE UKRAINIAN POLITBURO AT THE CONGRESS BUT RETAINED HIS POST OF KIEV OBKOM FIRST SECRETARY. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LYASHKO AND TSYBUL'KO DEVELOPED IN DONTSSK OBLAST', WHERE LYASHKO HELD PARTY SECRETARY POSTS BETWEEN 1952-63, AND TSYBUL'KO SPENT HIS ENTIRE EARLY CAREER (1949-68), RISING TO FIRST SECRETARY OF ZHDANOV GORKOM. LYASHKO ALSO SERVED UNDER SHELEST AS SECOND SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINIAN PARTY; SUBSEQUENTLY HE MOVED TO ASSUME THE POST OF UKRAINE'S PREMIER WHEN SHCHERBITSKIY BECAME FIRST SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINIAN PARTY IN 1972. THE FACT THAT LYASHKO WAS ALSO ASSOCIATED WITH V.I. DEGTYAREV, WHO WAS LAST JANUARY BOOTED OUT OF THE UKRAINIAN POLITBURO AND DONESTAK OBLAST', WHERE HE WAS FIRST SECRETARY FROM JULY 1963, POINTS UP MURKY NATURE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICS AND EVEN MURKIER QUESTION OF WHY LYASKHO AND TSYBUL'KO HAVE IT IN FOR FPOLYANSKIY. END COMMENT.

6. AMONG THE OTHER DISCUSSANTS, L.B. YEMIN (FIRST SECRETARY, PENZENSKIY OBKOM) WAS CRITICAL OF PLANNING ORGANS AND NOTED THAT MORE WORK WAS NEEDED ON THE LEGAL STATUS AND THE SPECIFIC PLANNING PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS. MINISTER OF THE COAL INDUSTRY B.F. BRATCHENKO GENTLY CRITICIZED GOSPLAN AND COMPARED THE STABLE ENERGY SUPPLY IN THE USSR WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD. PERHAPS MINDFUL OF HIS CHAIN OF COMMAND, HE MENTIONED KOSYGIN WITH RESPECT TWICE (WHILE CITING BREZHNEV FIVE TIMES).

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE YAKUTSKIY OBKOM G.I. CHIRYAYEV WAS ALSO RESPECTFUL TOWARD KOSYGIN, LAUDED THE "GREAT RUSSIAN PEOPLE", AND SUGGESTED A RAILROAD SPUR BE BUILT FROM BAM (A NEW EAST-WEST SIBERIAN LINE) NORTHWARD TO YAKUTIA.

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7. CONFUSION CONTINUES OVER THE CLOSING DATE OF THE CONGRESS. ALTHOUGH DISCUSSION OF KOSYGIN'S SPEECH ENDED AT THE CLOSE OF THE MARCH 3 AFTERNOON SESSION, US NEWSMEN HAVE BEEN TOLD BY LOW-LEVEL SOVIET SPOKESMEN THAT MARCH 4 WILL SEE A MEETING OF "HEADS OF DELEGATIONS" WHO REPORTEDLY WILL DISCUSS CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION TO THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THE FINAL SESSION WOULD BE FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 5, WHEN BREZHNEV WOULD ANNOUNCE THE NEW POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT.

8. COMMENT - IF THIS SCENARIO IS FOLLOWED, WE ASSUME THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL BE "ELECTED" BY THE CONGRESS IN CLOSED SESSION MARCH 4 AND THAT THE FIRST PLENUM OF THE NEW CC WILL BE HELD LATER THAT DAY TO "ELECT" THE NEW RULING ORGANS OF THE PARTY. IT SEEMS CURIOUS, HOWEVER, THAT AN ENTIRE DAY MAY

HAVE BEEN ALLOTTED FOR THIS PROCESS, AND WE DO NOT RULE OUT
THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CONGRESS MAY CLOSE MARCH 4.

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